

The Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D. C. 20505

**CHRONO**

OLL 84-4080

25 October 1984

The Honorable Edward P. Boland, Chairman  
Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence  
U. S. House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Ed,

I'd like you to look through the much publicized text of the FDN manual on psychological operations together with the code of conduct prepared in pocket size for every FDN soldier to carry with him at all times. You will see that the thrust and purpose of this material is, as Senator Wallop has said publicly, on the whole quite different from the impression that has been created in the media. The ultimate distortion appeared in this morning's NEW YORK TIMES editorial which speaks of the Agency "having to be stopped from illegal minings and murders." This distortion of reality must be corrected.

Let me describe these documents and their contents to help you work your way through them. They were prepared in the political section of the FDN with the help of an advisor provided by the CIA. The code of conduct explains that the objective of the FDN is the development of a democratic and pluralistic government in Nicaragua. It describes the need to achieve a reconciliation of the Nicaraguan family, to establish social justice and human rights in Nicaragua, to restore the freedoms violated by the Sandinistas, and to achieve economic reform and greater social mobility. The manual, entitled Psychological Operations in Guerrilla Warfare, was prepared by and addressed to people who had made the fateful decision to engage in armed combat in order to resist oppression by a totalitarian regime. Its purpose is stated as assuring that every combatant will be "highly motivated to engage in propaganda face to face, to the same degree that he is motivated to fight." It aims to make every FDN guerrilla "persuasive in face to face communication--a propagandist combatant--in his contact with the people; he must be capable of giving 5 or 10 logical reasons why, for example, a peasant must give him fabric, needle and thread to mend his clothes. When the guerrilla behaves this way, enemy propaganda will never turn him into an enemy in the eyes of the population." It goes on to deal with developing political awareness, using group dynamics, interaction with the people "live, eat and work with the people," respect for human rights, teaching and civic action.

There is a section headed "guerrilla arms are the strength of the people against an illegal government." This deals with protecting the guerrillas and citizens when a town is occupied. There is also a section on the training and operations of armed propaganda teams, made up of six to ten members charged with raising political consciousness within Nicaragua and personal persuasion within the population. Again, the emphasis is on education, avoiding combat if possible, "not turning the town into a battlefield." That context puts into perspective the four passages with which the whole document and the FDN psychological operations have been characterized. Two of these four passages were deleted by the FDN.

Of the other two, one advises on how to explain to the population if a guerrilla, having "tried to stop the informant without shooting," should shoot that individual. The other uses the word "neutralize" in dealing with the problem of removing local officials on occupying a town.

It is important to note that these two passages are in the context of entering or occupying a community and dealing with a situation in which actual or potential resistance remains. They are preceded by admonitions that the "enemies of the people, the Sandinista officials or agencies, must not be mistreated in spite of the criminal actions even though the guerrilla forces may have suffered casualties" and also that "whenever it is necessary to use armed force during an occupation or a visit to a town or a village," the guerrillas are to "explain to the population that first of all this is being done to protect them, the people not the guerrillas themselves" and that "this action while not desirable is necessary because the final objective of the insurrection is a free and democratic society where acts of force are not necessary."

Sincerely,

  
William J. Casey

#### Enclosures

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The Honorable Barry M. Goldwater  
United States Senate  
6250 North Hoggan Drive  
Scottsdale, Arizona 85253

The Honorable John H. Chafee  
United States Senate  
Hyatt Regency Hotel  
300 Light Street  
Baltimore, MD 21202

The Honorable Joseph R. Biden  
United States Senate  
6021 J. Caleb Boggs  
Federal Building  
844 King Street  
Wilmington, Delaware 19801

The Honorable David F. Durenberger  
United States Senate  
375 Russell Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20510

The Honorable Howard H. Baker, Jr.  
United States Senate  
3224 Woodland Drive  
Washington, D.C. 20008

he'll be at home Friday night (ETA 5:30 p.m.)

The Honorable Robert C. Byrd  
United States Senate  
311 Hart Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20510

The Honorable Malcolm Wallop  
United States Senate  
206 Russell Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Friday - will be in office for interview  
at 9:00 a.m.

The Honorable Daniel K. Inouye  
United States Senate  
722 Hart Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Out of town. Office will get to him  
as soon as possible.

The Honorable Walter D. Huddleston  
United States Senate  
Attention: John Wallace  
220 West Dixie Avenue  
Elizabethtown, Kentucky 42701

The Honorable Richard G. Lugar  
United States Senate  
7841 Old Dominion Drive  
McLean, Virginia 22102

After 5:30 p.m. Friday (home)

(Thursday-in office till 6:30 pm;  
306 Hart Senate Office Building)

The Honorable Jake Garn  
United States Senate  
505 Dirksen Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Deliver to his office by 5:00 p.m. Thursday

The Honorable Lloyd Bentsen  
United States Senate  
703 Hart Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20510

The Honorable William V. Roth, Jr.  
United States Senate  
3021 Federal Building  
844 King Street  
Wilmington, Delaware 19801

The Honorable Sam Nunn  
United States Senate  
6852 Tulip Hill Terrace  
Bethesda, MD

home address. (6:00 p.m. Thursday he's flying  
out of town)

The Honorable William S. Cohen  
United States Senate  
340 Eastern Promenade  
Apartment 158  
Portland, Maine 04101

The Senator will be there late Friday afternoon

The Honorable Patrick J. Leahy  
United States Senate  
135 Church Street  
Burlington, Vermont 05401

U. S. House of Representatives  
Room 309  
1550 Main Street  
Springfield, Massachusetts 01103

The Honorable Louis Stokes  
U. S. House of Representatives  
Room 2947  
1240 East 9th Street  
Cleveland, Ohio 44199

The Honorable Romano L. Mazzoli  
U. S. House of Representatives  
Room 551  
600 Federal Place  
Louisville, Kentucky 40202

The Honorable Norman Y. Mineta  
U. S. House of Representatives  
Suite 310  
1245 South Winchester Blvd.  
San Jose, California 95128

SIC The Honorable Wyche Fowler, Jr.  
House of Representatives  
1210 Longworth House Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Lee H. Hamilton  
U. S. House of Representatives  
1201 East 10th Street (Room 107)  
Jeffersonville, Indiana 47130

SIC The Honorable Albert Gore, Jr.  
House of Representatives  
Room 1131 Longworth House Office Building  
Washington, D. C. 20515

The Honorable Dave McCurdy  
U. S. House of Representatives  
103 Federal Building  
Lawton, Oklahoma 73501

The Honorable Bob Stump  
U. S. House of Representatives  
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Phoenix, Arizona 85025

The Honorable J. Kenneth Robinson  
U. S. House of Representatives  
112 North Cameron Street  
Winchester, Virginia 22601

The Honorable G. William Whitehurst  
U. S. House of Representatives  
815 Federal Building  
Norfolk, Virginia 23510

The Honorable C. W. Bill Young  
U. S. House of Representatives  
Suite 606  
801 West Bay Drive  
Largo, Florida 33540

The Honorable William F. Goodling  
U. S. House of Representatives  
200 South George Street  
York, Pennsylvania 17403

The Honorable James C. Wright, Jr.  
U. S. House of Representatives  
9A10 Federal Building  
819 Taylor Street  
Fort Worth, Texas 76102

The Honorable Robert H. Michel  
U. S. House of Representatives  
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Peoria, Illinois 61602

The Honorable Anthony C. Beilenson  
U. S. House of Representatives  
18401 Burbank Blvd.  
Tarzana, California 91356